1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

142 individuals. The prognathous jaw is common, but far from universal; and one fairly often meets fair individuals with pointed faces tapering towards the chin. Young girls are frequently [304] graceful, light in colour, and, but for the disfigurements of tattooing, often pretty; but with age and child-bearing, long journeys to the market and heavy field work, they soon coarsen and darken. Colour varies from nearly black to pale copper; but really black [551] skins are uncommon enough to give rise to names or nicknames. The copper complexion is perhaps commoner among the Bison-horn than the Hill Marias, but the really pale copper face is more often met in the hills. Lips are full rather than thick. Eyes are almost invariably brown; I have met occasional individuals with grey or greenish-grey eyes accompanied by hair of a dirty rust colour and light complexions. The hair is black and generally straight, but many have natural waves that would do credit to European coiffeurs, and a few have naturally frizzy hair. Some young 'bloods' [302] among the Bison-horn Marias seem to have artificially curled hair. The teeth are usually worn down, discoloured and neglected, and [164] caries is common. The richer Bison-horn headmen sometimes have [304] small gold plugs, the size of a pin's head, inserted in the front of their upper front teeth.

[516] The bodies are usually well developed, and the easy, upright carriage of the Maria displays to advantage his good chest, buttocks and calves. The Hill Maria seldom if ever carries

482 **Physical powers and endurance** weights on his head, but on his left shoulder, supported by his left arm bent over the top of his burden. Actually he regards the woman as the natural carrier, as may be seen when he goes with her to the market, and almost the only time when he may be seen carrying loads is when he acts as a carrier for a touring official. It is actually recorded that at one time he used to send his women for this work; but he has long given this up, possibly through experience of the less pleasant ways of subordinate State servants. Young hill girls and women carry heavy baskets or leaf-boxes of grain, logs of wood, water-pots or other weights on their heads, generally supporting the burden with their left hands holding its upper edge above their heads. With 439 loads of grain for sale, and perhaps piles of baskets, brooms or mats, 484 the Hill Maria housewife will go once a month to the bazaar, often from thirty-five to forty miles away, in the plains, while her menfolk [462] take nothing but bow and arrow or, very occasionally, big baskets made for storing grain, which only males may make. From Kurmer, for example, on the Kutru-Antagarh border where the hill-streams begin to flow south to the Indrawati, they go thirty-nine miles to the market at Dhanrai, between Narainpur and Chhota

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934; 1949

AW32 Gond AW32
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for a tooth; but nowadays this is generally satisfied by invoking the police and the courts. But distances are great in Bastar, and in the rains, when the early hill grains are ripe, communications are bad; often the villagers conspire to hush up a murder or leave it to those affected to take their own direct action, rather than disorganise agricultural work by the troubles of a long police enquiry followed by committal proceedings and a sessions trial. 692

It is a relief to return from this darker side of the Bison-horn Maria's character to the light-heartedness of all Marias, but especially the Hill Maria. An engaging feature of this is his readiness to burlesque himself. A village *gaita* (headman) at Tondawada set the whole camp in fits of laughter by his description of his first vain attempts to use a pair of bullocks in the plough, mimicking himself pulled hither and thither by these wild-cat animals; at Hikul I was treated to a similar comic representation of what would happen if a Maria attempted to milk a cow. They are quick to seize on any foibles or peculiarities of individuals, without respect of persons, and have a happy knack of inventing apposite nicknames; this trait is common throughout the State, where there are nicknames for almost every State official current among all the primitive tribes, while few of the leading Hindu and Mohammedan settlers are referred to by their true names. 157 522 551

Frankness and honesty are still as characteristic as ever of the hill men and the wilder Bison-horn Marias, and many a man arraigned for homicide will state in court perfectly frankly why it was essential to kill his victim and how it was done. I have very seldom found any hesitate to answer any questions, even about the most intimate domestic matters. The Bison-horn Maria, however, being, at least in the open tracts, more sophisticated, is inclined to be suspicious; and he certainly is learning the ways of the courts, and how to defeat a justice administered on the evidence and not according to the facts; many know, for example, that the death penalty may be escaped if you can convince your judge that you murdered your victim because you believed him to be bewitching you. But in general a Maria witness can still be relied upon to speak the truth, although it involve his dearest relatives or himself in trouble; and the occasional pleader from British India is soon hopelessly at sea if he tries his usual methods of cross-examination even on a Bison-horn Maria who knows Halbi. Fortunately, the restoration of the criminal and civil jurisdiction of the village and *pargana* panchayats will considerably reduce Maria experience of the law courts. The Hill Maria never has had much recourse to them, petty theft being almost unknown and murder rare. His attitude may to some extent be gauged by the following example. 157 577 [674] 695

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

Chapter XIV

Marriage

582 618 Whatever the origin of the clans and phratries, they serve as a means of regulating the marriages of Hill and Bison-horn Marias; in the case of the latter, among whom the clan is no longer a territorial as well as a social unit, one might say that the primary function of the clan and phratry organization is the regulation of marriage. A child is born into the clan of its father, and, if a son, must remain in that clan all its life; but, if a daughter, passes on marriage to the clan of the husband, and on re-marriage from his clan to that of the second husband. A son must not take a wife, or a daughter a husband, from the father's clan or from any clan that is brother-clan or *dadabhai* to it: he must marry a wife from, and she must marry into, some clan that is a wife-clan or *akomama* of their father's clan. It has been seen that the phratry system of the Bison-horn Marias gives them a wider field of selection of wives and husbands than the more inchoate group system of Hill Maria clans. A widow, however, must not marry as second husband a man whose clan is brother to her father's clan, even though through being in a phratry other than that of her first husband's clan the second husband's clan would be wife-clan to the first husband's. In a word, throughout a woman's life all her marriages are regulated by the clan into which she was born.

Exogamy

601 114 Appendix III gives a list of the Hill Maria terms of relationship so far as I could ascertain them; they were collected in Orcha and adjacent villages by the genealogical method, and verified in other parts of the Abujhmar hills. They were collected as terms of reference, though some are used also as terms of address, e.g. *mama*, *dada*, *kaka*. I was unable in the time at my disposal to make a similar collection of the Bison-horn Maria terms; but so far as my observation went their terms are the same but for dialectical differences. This applies also, it may be added, in a considerable degree to the terms used by the Gonds of the Nagpur District, and, to judge from the incomplete list given in Trench's *Grammar*, Volume I, to those of the Betul Gonds. It may be added that when [551] a son has been born to him, a Hill or Bison-horn Maria is often addressed by his family and neighbours as the father of his son, e.g. '*Rajin-tappe*', meaning 'Father of Raje'.

601 *Dadabhai*, the word used to designate kindred or brother-clans, is a combination of *dada*, the Gondi term for an elder brother, and

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
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Bison Horn Maria

553 Yete Mura, the headman of Hoinar, was born hare-lipped and was therefore named after his hare-lipped paternal grandfather; and Jugho Dallu, the headman of Hitulnar, recognized on his son the birth-marks of his dead mother Pora'i and therefore gave him the name of her dead husband Dugha. This practice is a sign of some sort of belief in the reincarnation of the Departed. The second exception is the practice of giving a name immediately after birth when birth has coincided with some natural phenomenon or incident. Usendi Ippo of Orcha was called Ippo because born when the *mahua* tree (*ippa marra* in Maria) was in flower; Usendi Irka was born when the cucumbers (*irka*) were ripening in the *penda* fields; Usendi Ghasi was so named because, just before he was born, a *patwari* rode into Orcha and ordered his father Moda to go and cut grass (*ghas* in Halbi) for his pony. Oyami Gursha, headman of Komu, was born when his father and uncles were making a wicker-work bin (*gursha*) for storing grain. Yete Mura named his daughter Reko because she was born when the *reka marra* tree (*Aegle marmelos*) was in fruit. The third exception, which, like the first, indicates some belief, if not in reincarnation, at least in a previous existence, is the practice when a new-born baby cries loudly for three or four days of reciting to it all the names that the parents can remember and giving it the last name uttered before it stops crying, on the theory that it has stopped crying on recognizing its name. Normally, however, the name is not given till the child is two or three, and then depends on such things as whether it is fat or thin, slow or smart, learnt to walk or speak quickly, and so on. Thus a boy was named Morlel or 'hare' because he used to double suddenly like a hare when running about the village; Bunge is a name given to a boy with a huge stomach; Baiyya or 'mad' to a harum-scarum boy; Banga to a shy, untalkative child; and U'ile or 'thin' to a child thin through much illness in his early years.

551 177 Russell and Hiralal state (III, p. 87) of the Gond race as a whole that names derived from the Gondi language are rare or non-existent and, on this assumption, actually suggest that perhaps the Gonds had not advanced to the stage of having individual names before they came into contact with the Hindus! This is certainly not true of either Hill or Bison-horn Marias. Of 103 male and 38 female Hill Maria names collected from 215 men and 107 women, and 103 male and 23 female Bison-horn Maria names collected from 236 men and 68 women, very few, not 5 per cent., were Hindu, the proportion of Hindu names being, as might be expected, slightly higher among the Bison-horn Marias. Only about 27 per cent. of the Hill Maria men's names and 8 per cent. of their women's names occur also, in the same or a modified form, in the lists of Bison-horn

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
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Bison Horn Maria

Maria names, though, of course, very few Bison-horn women's names were collected. A noticeable difference is the absence from the Hill Maria of names given according to the day of the week on which the person named was born, such as Budhi (Wednesday), Mangru (Tuesday) and Lakhmu (Thursday); it has already been noted that the Hill Marias have no names for the days of the week.

Weaning

A child is breast-fed until it can both walk and take its own food by hand, sometimes as long as three years. Unlike the Bison-horn Marias, the Hill Marias have no weaning ceremony.

Education

There is no system of training Hill Maria children corresponding to the Gotul or Dormitory system of the Murias, except in the northernmost Hill Maria *parganas* of Padalbhum and Nurbhum. In the greater part of the Maria country, children learn simply by accompanying and imitating their parents and the elder boys of the village. At night the boys who are old enough to leave their mothers sleep in the communal dormitory, and in the evenings they sit outside the dormitory round the fire with the men of the village. When the corn is ripening and the men sleep in the field-houses, in many villages the dormitory is closed, and the boys sleep with their fathers or elder brothers in the fields. Thus from his earliest days the child learns the routine of village and tribal life from constant association with his elders. He is made to do his share of the field work, and taught the use of the bow and arrow and the setting of snares. Children of six and seven of both sexes join in the village and clan dances, very quickly mastering the steps. We have seen how they use bamboo *pak-dol* drums to master the rhythm of drumming. In the ordinary hill village there is nothing corresponding to the Muria custom of the dormitory owning and cultivating a field or fields and applying the proceeds either to dormitory feasts or to the purchase of beads; but in the Barsur Mar villages and, therefore, probably elsewhere in the Abujhmar hills fathers encourage children to keep their own pigs, which they sometimes sell to procure money or grain for buying beads and knives. Girls similarly soon learn domestic routine from their constant association with their mothers. They cannot associate with boys in the manner of the Murias, among whom every girl must attend the boys' dormitory every night and has her own *gotul* 'boy-friend' to serve, since these *gotul* unions must be between couples who could legitimately marry under the rules of exogamy, and in nearly all Hill Maria villages all the boys and girls are of the same clan and therefore kindred. Yet the girls make bead fillets, ear-tassels and necklaces for the boys, and the latter carve wooden combs for the girls.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria

861 The complete *gotul* organization is a feature of Muria and not of Hill Maria culture. But as it has extended to Padalibhum and Nurbhum (possibly also to parts of Tapalibhum and Behra Mar) among the Hill Marias, a brief account of its salient features will not be out of place; it may be expected to spread into the hills with the gradual improvement of communications. A fairly full account from my notes on the Murias has been printed in the *Census of India* 1931 *Report*, Vol. I, Part III B., pp. 81-3. It may be added that it is easier for the Marias of Padalbhum to copy their Muria neighbours because Padalibhum not only has two or three villages which are not Padali villages but belong to the Nuroti and Usendi clans, but even in Padali villages has settlers of these two clans, which are *akomama* (wife-clan) to them.

[858] Boys and girls of an age to visit the *gotul* dormitories are known as *leyur* and *leyas* respectively. All the boys assemble at the 857 dormitory in the evening for dancing, games and social and sexual 571 training, sleeping on there after the departure of the girls to their homes late in the night. The girls attend at the dormitory in the 864 evening, each girl being paired off with a boy of an *akomama* clan. The girls have to comb their boys' hair and massage their arms and legs, to dance with them, and to be initiated into the mysteries of sex with them. Marriage frequently follows these dormitory unions, but by no means always does. Children are expected to attend the dormitory from the age of eleven or twelve, and the parents may be fined for not sending them. Every boy and girl has a special dormitory name or rank; the smaller children have designations which are little more than names, but those of the elder boys change as they are promoted, and involve special duties. The Hill Marias seem to have adopted the ranks for the boys only, the girls retaining the name given them on their entry until they leave the dormitory organization on marriage, but taking among their fellows the precedence of their boy-mates in the dormitory. In Padalibhum the head boy of the dormitory is always known as [771] the *leyur-gaita*, and below him the *gotul* officials are the *leyur-majhi*, the *silledar*, the *jaliarsi*, the *laharu*, the *baiddar* and the *kamdar*; of these, *silledar*, *baiddar* and *kamdar* are Hindi terms copied from the titles of State or zamindari servants; in many a Muria dormitory all the office-holders have such designations instead of the old native names. Besides these names or designations to which [557] special duties and privileges are attached, they have for the boys the names Jalka, Jolsai and Joria, and probably others. The girls' dormitory names ascertained were Jaliaru, Lahari, Manjaro, Nircia, Jhelo, Gujaro, Piyosa and Belosa. At a camp at Partabpur attended by Hill Marias from Padalibhum, the *leyur-gaita* of three

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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APPENDIX IV

NAMES OF MEN AND WOMEN

(a) Hill Marias

MEN (215)

Aitū (2)
Arjāhā
Bāghū
Baiyyā (2)
Bandē (3)
Bangā (3)
Banjar
Barangā
Bhōsā (5)
Birā
Bital (2)
Borangā (2)
Bōrkā
Buchā
Bungē
Bungrī
Burkā
Bursā
Dabbū (2)
Dallu
Dangī
Dēlū (3)
Dōbā
Dōgā
Dōgū
Dūgā (4)
Erkā (3)
Gabā
Gangā
Ghāsī (2)
Gillē
Gōndā
Gudī (2)
Gudrā (2)
Gurshā (2)
Hāghā
Harmā (5)
Hirā (2)
Hungā (4)
Irkā (2)
Irpā (2)
Jallā
Kāmā (2)
Kandar
Kandī
Kāpā
Karēt
Karpā
Kēsā
Kēyē (4)
Khuria
Kohla (6)
Kōhlāl (3)
Kōlā (2)
Kōpā (2)
Kōplā
Kōriā
Kōrkā
Kōsā
Kūlē (2)
Kūmal (5)
Kundī
Kurwē
Kutkē (2)
Kuttā (2)
Lamrī
Mādī
Mahrū
Mallā (2)
Mārā
Māsā (5)
Mēsā (2)
Mēsō
Mirsō
Mōdī (3)
Mōrlēl
Mukkā (10)
Mullā (2)
Mulli (2)
Mūrā (16)
Murral (3)
Mūsā
Narangō (2)
Nēndā (3)
Ōghā (3)
Pāndrū (3)
Pēdā
Pēndā (4)
Pōlā (4)
Rājū (2)
Rāmā (2)
Rēkā
Sobrai
Sōkhā
Udsā
U'ilē
Ungal
Usō
Ville
Wanjā (3)
Wārangē
Watē
Wijjā (6)

WOMEN (107)

Bandī (4)
Bīrē (4)
Bukē (2)
Bīrgī (2)
Chērō (3)
Dāmē
Dōbē (2)
Dōpī (3)
Dughō (3)
Dūtī (4)
Ewadō (2)
Goghai (4)
Gudī (2)
Hidē
Hirē (6)
Ipē (4)
Kāmpē (2)
Kānē (4)
Kiringo
Kōhlē (4)
Kōwē (2)
Kume (2)
Kundī
Māsē (8)
Mēnē (3)
Mōrī
Mūrī (4)
Mūsrā (2)
Nēndō (4)
Pākū (3)
Panō (2)
Pōrai
Pūsē (3)
Rēkō (3)
Sōtrī (2)
Wanje (3)
Wāghāll
Wijjē (4)

N.B.—The numbers in brackets indicate the number of persons bearing the name indicated in the total 215 men and 107 women taken into account. No number is given when the name occurs only once.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gone AW32

Bison Horn Maria

(b) *Bison-horn Maria:*

551

Men (236)		Women (68)
Aitû	Khôjâ	Aitû
Artî	Khôtîâ	Bandê (2)
Bâghâ	Kôhlâ	Bangê (4)
Baibâ	Kôlâ (5)	Bhairê
Bakkâ	Kôndâ	Bôchê (3)
Bandâ	Kôpâ (3)	Budhnî (2)
Bandî (14)	Kôsâ (11)	Bulîî
Bâtî	Kôyê	Dômê (2)
Bhîmâ (3)	Kummâ	Êrê (4)
Bôdâ (3)	Kuttâ (2)	Galplê
Bôngrî	Lakhmû (2)	Gangî (7)
Bortê	Lakkâ	Hirmê
Budhî	Lingâ	Jimmê (3)
Bugrî	Mallâ (2)	Kâmê (3)
Burrâ	Mangrû	Kôsî (4)
Chalkî	Markâ	Mâsê (12)
Chamrû	Mâsâ (15)	Mukke (2)
Chêwâ (4)	Mâtâ	Mukî (8)
Chêlâ	Mêdhô	Mutî
Dêwâ (9)	Mûkâ (8)	Pîlî (2)
Dhûrwâ (6)	Mundâ	Pirî (2)
Dôgî	Mundrâ (4)	Sukrî
Dôgôrî	Muttâ	Tôrkî
Dôkâ (2)	Nâdî	
Dôlê (2)	Nandâ (4)	
Dômê (2)	Nangâ	
Dôrâ (3)	Pândû (3)	
Duggî	Pandrû	
Dullâ	Pisôrî	
Dûmâ	Pôdiâ (2)	
Edîâ	Pônârî	
Gangâ (6)	Pôtâ (2)	
Ghâsî	Râmâ	
Gôgê (3)	Râmû	
Geddî	Risâmî	
Gundâ	Rôdâ	
Gûrdâm	Saniâsî	
Harmâ (10)	Sikkâ	
Harrâ	Simâ	
Hiriâ (2)	Singâ	
Hirmâ (7)	Sukrâ	
Hungâ (6)	Sûpâ	
Hurrâ (5)	Tângrâ	
Indâmôkâ	Tikrâ	
Indar	Tôkâ	
Jôgâ	U'lkâ	
Jûngâ	Ûsâ (2)	
Kâmâ (3)	Veddî	
Kânâ	Vîlâ (3)	
Kannâ	Vîtklê	
Kôsâ (2)	Wângrê	
	Wôdî	

N.B.—The numbers in brackets indicate the number of persons bearing the name indicated in the total 236 men and 68 women taken into account. No number is given when the name occurs only once.

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Muria

THE COURSE OF MURIA LIFE: CHILDHOOD

But this name is important because of its connexion with the theory of rebirth, and before it is given it is necessary to discover which of the family ancestors has returned in the young child. Many different methods of divination are adopted. At Bandopal they tied up some rice into a little bundle of siari leaves and put it on the child's head. Then the Siraha took the names of all the family ancestors that he could remember one by one: if the child drops the bundle on its shoulder as the medium is repeating a name, they know who it is. In the Sonawal Pargana I found the Muria placing a lighted lamp in a leaf-cup of sarai above the pit where the placenta was buried, while they waved a second lamp round the child reciting names. The child shows its recognition of its name by putting its hands out towards the lamp. In Karikhodra they put a chicken-bone in the child's hand and give the name that is used when the child drops it. At Gorma, they made a ball of siari leaves, put it in front of the child and waited till it touched it. Sometimes, the child refuses to drink its mother's milk. Then the medium is called and he recites names as usual; they give the one that coincides with the child's turning to the breast. In Aturgaon, they wave rice in a leaf-cup round the child, put it down before it, stick a scrap of rice on a siari stalk and place it in the child's hand. When the child throws the rice over its shoulder, they give the name.

The names are, as we might expect, slowly becoming Hindu in character, though this tendency should not be exaggerated. Out of 2000 names, only 85 were specifically Hindu and such names as Ram, Ganesh, Govind, Sita, Indira, were comparatively rare. Girls and boys are sometimes named after the Hindu months in which they were born—Asaru, Baisakhu, Bhadru or Phagu—and after the day of the week—Aitu, Mangal and Sani.[1]

As always, events at the time of birth influence a child's name.

Akalsai or Kangalu	Born in a famine year
Barat or Bartiya	Born during a marriage procession
Dera	Born in a hut
Duwaru	Born in the yard
Irpa	Born at the time of picking mahua flowers
Sataru	A seven-months child

The usual derogatory names are given with the idea of depreciating a child's value in the eyes of hostile spirits.

Amlu	Sour	Burjaha	Dirty
Apoti	Stinking	Chamra	Shoemaker
Banda	Naked, or dock-tailed	Dhondu	Useless
Barko	Thin	Ganda	A despised weaver
Barra	Crack-brained	Gatharu or Gatti	A little bundle, or undersized
Baya or Balhi	Mad	Hoche	Drunkard
Bhondu	Stupid	Jakari	Madman
Bhoska	A dunce	Lardhu	Useless
Bhuka	Hungry	Sukhu	Wizened
Bohbor	Stinking		

A remarkable name in this class is Duma, the Halbi word for the dead.

Yet on the other hand, there are just as many names calculated to flatter the child. The derogatory names are generally only given when calamity

[1] In the text I have mostly given the names of men: in many cases a feminine form of the same word is used for women, thus Bhuki, Sukli, Sugrin.

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Muria

551 and sorrow have visited a family; if two children have died, the parents hope to avert another disaster by calling the next one Hagru (excreter) and so on. Laudatory names are much more common.

Anjori	Splendour	Dularsingh	Lovable
Amoli	Invaluable	Hirasingh	Handsome as a diamond
Amarsingh	Immortal		
Bahadur	Brave	Labarzingh, Laharu, Lahari	Happy
Balsai	Young King		
Bansingh	Lord of the forest	Ruprai, Rupsingh or Rupa	Silver
Birsingh	Brave		
Budha	Wise and learned	Sobi	Beautiful
Dhansingh, Dhanu	Rich	Sugru	Beautiful
		Sunher	Golden

A few Muria are named after trees and vegetables.

Amori	A tree	Jira	A red vegetable
Baranga	A tree	Jhitka or Jhitu	A shrub
Dhodra	A hollow tree	Kanda	A root
Guthlu	Mango seed	Kehala	A tree

Others are named after animals, birds and fish.

Baghrai	Tiger	Maliyarsingh	Peacock
Bhainsa	Buffalo	Malsai	Peacock
Bharanda	The broom-tailed (probably a tiger)	Mendi	She-goat
Domi	A fish	Mugur	Crocodile
Dulu	A fish	Newra	Mongoose
Gundru	A small bird	Paddi	Pig
Kawe	A bird	Pitorka	Bulbul bird
Kidar	A bird	Sukni	Dry fish
Liti	Sparrow	Usir	A bird
Maina	A starling	Yerjaha	Bear

Another class of names is taken from musical instruments and other material objects such as Erra (a sickle), Nagel (a plough), or Gota (tobacco-box).

Bajo	Fiddle	Dhol	A drum
Belo	A sort of violin	Kudurka	Wooden gong

Disease-names are either given when the child is grown and are purely descriptive, or they are prophylactic, given in the hope that the bearer of the name will not be afflicted with the fact.

Dutka	A leg disease	Khoru or Khoriya	Lame
Kodi	Leprous	Konda	Dumb
Thota	Cripple	Gaja	Ringworm

Names deriving from physical characteristics are more in the nature of *pattu podor* or nicknames, though names based on colour are probably given when the child is a baby.

Bhuri	Fair, light brown	Chhendi	Long-haired
Bhuaku	Fat	Chirangu	Curly-haired
Bijju	Impotent	Denga	Tall
Bondka	With a long navel	Derka	Left-handed
Botori	Undersized	Dhonya	Big-bellied
Buke	Fat-faced	Hetka	Stammerer
Chemtu	Dry-faced	Jatiya	Long-haired

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Julpi	Curly-haired	Meso	Black
Kari or Kariya	Black	Milku	Short-sighted
Koso	Black	Mondi	Crippled
Limtu	Short-sighted	Mundra	Hairless

Other nicknames, of which there are a great variety, may be represented here by—

Bode	With a big shaking stomach	Karbe	Burnt in the fire as a child
Dahko	A fast walker	Pakla	Grey-haired
Dalu or Darsu	A heavy eater of pulses	Pitarri	One who quickly loses his temper and talks very fast
Dorga	Big-bellied		
Garbari	Always bustling about		
Golar	Always wanders like a bull	Potsu	Stout
		Udlin	A girl who eloped from the ghotul.

Of the 2000 names collected, we may make the following classification:

	Number	Percentage
Specifically Hindu names ..	85	4·25
Hindi or Halbi names ..	820	41
Names of probable Gondi origin ..	1095	54·75

These figures are, I suggest, sufficient to reinforce Grigson in his criticism of Russell and Hiralal for their statement[1] that names from the Gondi language are rare or non-existent and that it was only after contact with the Hindus that the Gond took to having individual names. Grigson found that out of 267 names collected from the Maria only 5 per cent were Hindu.[2] But he does not give the percentage of names that a Hindu might conceivably use.

The following Muria names[3] may not all be Gondi, but no ordinary Hindu would use them:

Bindo	Gile	Kule	Pitsa
Boga	Gulu	Kundel	Poke
Boko	Gurti	Leake	Pola
Bosa	Hirdu	Malo	Poriya
Bui	Jaggu	Mirdu	Sankoy
Chahra	Jainu	Mitku	Silo
Chepu	Jakkar	Muke	Singa
Chirga	Jako	Nappu	Sudu
Chogu	Jamni	Nargo	Tahtor
Dirka	Jauge	Orcha	Temsu
Dirwi	Jelu	Orsu	Thiblu
Duga	Jepi	Ote	Tuge
Durru	Keso	Pakur	Turku
Gannu	Korge	Picho	Udlu
Gecho	Kosi	Pite	Wandel

[1] Russell and Hiralal, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 87. [2] Grigson, op. cit., p. 266.
[3] Bishop gives the following specimens of Muria names, which I reproduce because they are the earliest we have. 'Names of males: Badal, Bukal, Boyal, Dhala, Dhodi, Durga, Gagura, Godi, Higal, Judabal, Kodal, Malal, Mulal, Milol, Musal, Odhi, Pichka, Somoru, Surka, Suval. Females: Gajari, Hinga, Judahi, Kodo, Kasi, Sukali.' Hislop, op. cit., p. 84.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

GHOTUL MEMBERSHIP AND RULES

I

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IN the first splendid ghotul, with its peacock roof and door of ogre's bones, Lingo gave the boys and girls names and duties. The oldest stories say that the first chelik were Mankor Singa, Jiha Guta Soma and Karata Guta Soma, and the first motiari Godakare Mode, Belosa and Kurumtuse Buke; the later tales give the girls' names as Belosa, Manjaro, Jalko and Dulosa. Lingo's own ghotul name was Manjhi. Since then every boy and girl, on becoming a full member of the dormitory, has received a title.

These titles are of great significance. Until they receive them, the children have no standing; they cannot get 'ghotul-mates'; they are the servants and drudges of the others. But once they are named they enter into the full equality of the ghotul fellowship. They now almost forget their *mar podor* or home name, which must never be used in the ghotul or by the other children, and is indeed hardly ever used except at home, by parents and close relatives, or for some official purpose.

An ordinary name is often ugly or unkind, but the ghotul title has the tenderest and happiest associations, charged with romantic memories. For this reason it is never used by parents, who must pretend not to know it. A boy may sometimes tell his father his name but the girls never reveal it in the home. After marriage, a boy goes on using his title as indeed he continues for a time to exercise his old office; but a girl must never allow people to address her by a name which has so many memories of the free days of youth (though an old lover may, rarely, use it for that very reason), she should not call her husband by his old title, or refer in any way to hers in his presence. But I am told that when a group of old women who were once members of the same ghotul get together, they call each other by their ghotul names 'to remind themselves of happiness'. Close friends continue to address one another in this way all their lives.

For everybody treasures the memory of his title. When visiting the Jagdalpur jail, I found the sulkiest Muria prisoners expand into beaming smiles when I addressed them by their old ghotul names.

As the children grow older, they are promoted from rank to rank in the ghotul hierarchy, and their titles are often changed. Sometimes, however, they are too attached to their original title to give it up. This may be one reason for the great diversity in the names of the leaders in different places. In different ghotul I have found the leader called variously Sirdar, Kotwar, Malik, Diwan, Jhoria, Malguzar, Silledar, Salya and Gaita, though elsewhere these titles may be given to quite junior boys. On the other hand, the majority of girls call their leader Belosa, though at Markabera she was Malko, in Binjhli Manjaro and in a group of three villages (Udanpur, Kapei and Timnar) she

tiger carried off two boys from the *dhumkuria* house and since then the house has been abandoned and allowed to fall into ruins, under the belief that the tiger indicated the will of the gods that the village should no longer maintain a public *dhumkuria* building'.—Roy, *The Oraons*, p. 213. W. G. Archer has studied the distribution of the Uraon dormitory, and the areas where it has disappeared, on the basis of information collected at the 1941 census.—*Man in India*, Vol. XXV, No. 1.

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was Suliyaro. There is no rule about this, and the children change their names as often as they retain them.

There is indeed no fixed list of titles with an order of precedence. In one village the Kotwar may be a subordinate; in the next he may be the leader. The Raja may rank below the Diwan, or the Tahsildar below the Constable. In the same way, though many of the titles carry duties with them, it is impossible to say that these duties will always be associated with the same titles. In Silati village, the Munshi has to see to the supply of wood, but in Taragaon it is the Tekedar who does this, while the Munshi has to 'write' reports about absentees. In Haddigaon, it is the Budkher who collects the children and brings them to the ghotul; in the neighbouring Palli, it is the Sirdar.

Throughout this book, however, in order to avoid endless qualification of every statement, I call the leading chelik the Sirdar, the leading motiari the Belosa, and the chelik in charge of the girls the Kotwar, except—of course—when I am quoting actual incidents that have occurred in a particular ghotul, where different titles may be required.

I will give here a few lists of names and titles as they were in 1941—it must be remembered that they change every year. A list of all titles in alphabetical order will be found in Appendix III. The following were the boys and girls in the Kabonga ghotul with their duties, in order of precedence.

Chelik of Kabonga

Diwan Sirdar Mukhwan	These form the 'supreme council' which controls the affairs of both boys and girls.
Kotwar Chalan	These have the special task of seeing to the attendance and behaviour of the girls.
Munshi	Keeps an account of all that is done.
Jamadar	Sees that the girls have a proper supply of combs.
Kandki	Entertains visitors from other ghotul.
Dafedar Baidar	See to the cleanliness of the ghotul, and keep the roof thatch in order.
Kajanti Chalki	Attend to the tobacco supply. The Kajanti must offer it to visitors.
Bara Pahadar Nani Pahadar	Attend to seating arrangements. They give mats to visitors, and if little boys are sitting on mats they turn them off for the elders.
Kamdar Beldar Chowkidar Likhen	These are 'subjects' whose only function is to do what they are told.

Motiari of Kabonga

Belosa Dulosa	The leaders of all the girls who arrange how everyone is to sleep, and see that their 'subjects' perform their duties properly.

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Tiloka Nirosa Pirosa Janko Malko Jankai Manka Junki Alosa	These all have to clean the ghotul, bring leaves and make them into plates, cups and leaf-pipes, comb and massage the boys, and perform any other task allotted to them by the Belosa, Dulosa or Diwan.

Kabonga is a village in north-central Kondagaon. I will now give a list from Esalnar, a 'Jhoria' village of the Mardapal Pargana, very near the Chota Dongar Hills.

Cholik of Esalnar

Diwan	Head of both boys and girls. The final judge in all disputes.
Manager Tahsildar Sirkil	Assistants to the Diwan.
Mukhwan	Inspector of the boys. Reports absentees to the Diwan.
Kotwar	In charge of the girls. Controls their discipline and work.
Inspector	Looks after visitors, provides them with mats and wooden pillows.
Pahardar	Administers punishments imposed by the Diwan. When there is too much noise keeps the children quiet.
Dafedar	Sees to the supply of wood.
Munshi	Arranges for the cleaning of the ghotul's surroundings and approaches.
Chalki	Looks after the drums, and sees there is string to hang them from the roof.
Gaita	Collects fines and has charge of them.
Havaldar	Must recover anything lost during a dance.
Kajanchi	Looks after the tobacco. Must see that there is enough for elders and visitors.
Ijardar	At any ceremony the liquor is kept in his charge.
Mukkadam Baidar Saidar	'Subjects' who have no special duties.

In this village the girls' names are simply feminine forms of those of their ghotul partners—Diwanin, Managerin, Kotwarin. The order of precedence is the same as for the boys. As in Kabonga, the girls do not have separate

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individual duties, but the two leaders, under the direction of the Kotwar, allot them their tasks as need arises.

I will give one more list, from Karikhodra near Antagarh in the north—the village where Lingo is said to have passed his supreme ordeal of oil and fire. Here the old Gondi titles are more prominent.

Chelik of Karikhodra

Manjhi	The leader. Passes judgements and inflicts fines.
Diwan	He examines the reports of the Singga.
Singga	He is in charge of the girls and reports defaulters.
Beldar Karati Alorsinh Jhaliarsinh Jolsay Daidar Subedar Laharsinh Salikrai Laharu Jhoria Kapatdar Kosa Milledar Kanjus	These are all 'subjects'. Special duties are not allotted. They have simply to obey the orders of the three leaders.

Motiari of Karikhodra

Belosa	The head of the girls, 'the Rani'.
Dulosa	Her assistant, 'the Diwanin'.
Mularo Muliyaro Salho Mulki Tiloka Suliyaro Malko Chaiko Achhoke Jilmili Laharo	These are all 'subjects', who have to perform their ghotul duties irrespective of the titles they hold.

The names in these lists are given in order of precedence, an order that is strictly observed. If the senior boys and girls are away—working in the fields or on the roads, for example—the younger boys and girls occupy their positions with dignity and zeal. In Masora once, all the elder boys were away in the fields watching the crops, with the result that the Jamadar, a charming youth called Dulsai, was in charge. No one could have fulfilled the duties of leader, judge and father with more zest.

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Some special duties were recorded at Kokori, where the Chalan had to provide an escort home for visitors and the Likhen had to clean the drums

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X 883 with flour. At Karanji the Sirdar and Baidar had to escort the motiari when they went to the forest to gather leaves for plates and cups, and the Jamadar had to arrange for small boys and girls to carry the drums when they went to some other village for a dance. At Baniagaon, the Matatgar had to look after the drums; the Baidarin arranged how the motiari were to comb and massage the boys in the evenings; the Kotwar and Chalan were the lawyers who regularly appeared to defend girls accused of some breach of ghotul discipline.

X 883 539 In a song recorded at Gawari, there is a reference to the duty of the Jaramkal and Supedar, who in this ghotul have to escort the girls when they go to fetch leaves. This is the Aking Koyana Karse Pata and, as they sing it, the motiari pretend to be picking leaves.

Sir pula helo dori ned weke dākāt roy sango ned weke dākāt roy?	Where are you going today, friends?
Sir pula helo dori marm āking dākāt roy sango marm āking dākāt roy.	We are going to pick leaves for the wedding.
Sir pula helo dori won tori oykāt roy sango won tori oykāt roy?	Who are you taking with you, friends?
Sir pula helo dori jaramkal supedār sango jaramkal supedār roy.	We are taking Jaramkal and Supedar.

X 883 551 In some ghotul, boys' titles are given to girls. At Taragaon and Atargaon, the two leading girls are called Malik and Chalan; they are the 'ghotul wives' of boy-leaders bearing the same names. At Rengagondi, the three chief girls are called Malik, Kotwar and Chalau for the same reason. In Nariha, the girls' leader is called Chalau. These villages are in the Chota Dongar and Mardapal Parganas, and the custom seems confined to that area. But in ghotul, especially in the neighbourhood of Kondagaon, where the boys and girls 'pair off', it is not uncommon (as we have already seen at Esalnar) for girls to take names which are really equivalent to the English 'Mrs'. Thus, in Pirapal and Haddigaon, girls are called Kotwarin (or Mrs Kotwar, the ghotul-wife of the Kotwar), Supedarin (or Mrs Supedar) and Mukhwanin.

X 883 551 177 The ghotul titles are linguistically a very mixed collection. A. N. Mitchell, who has traced the derivation and meanings of a list drawn from over a hundred ghotul in every part of the Muria area, has derived them from Urdu, Hindi, Halbi, Gondi and English. The English titles are generally corruptions of names used by State officials; thus Captan, or Captain, is the name by which the State Superintendent of Police is usually known in the villages; Engineer is the head of the P.W.D.; Dakdar is the local Assistant Surgeon; Orsel is the Overseer of work on the roads. Urdu and Hindi titles for excise, revenue and military officers are common, and so are the Hindi titles for such subordinates as the constable, watchman, headman, or forest-guard. It is curious that the title Kotwar, which in Muria villages is often held by a despised Ganda or Mahara, is in the ghotul usually an indication of importance.

X 883 551 Gondi names are more common among girls than boys. Among boys' titles we may notice Belumdar, owner of a *bīri* or garden, Ghotulsai—lord of the ghotul, Neliya—a good fellow, and the very common variants of Laharu which seems to imply in Gondi a 'dandy' or Don Juan, the word being derived from the Hindi *lahariya*, striped cloth, the wearing of which is regarded as very fast and 'advanced'. Some of the Gondi titles seem more like nicknames than anything else—thus Uden or Kude, meaning someone who sits down

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and is perhaps given to a lazy boy, Meliya from the Gondi verb 'to wander', or Jelu which means 'an obstructive fellow'.

Some of the girls' names are very pretty; such are the Gondi Alosa, 'pleasant-spoken', Dulosa—a corruption of the Hindi *dulocha*, soft; Malko, a peahen—Plate CXII shows how fitting the title can be; the Hindi Mulari, the 'precious one'; the Gondi Saile, 'friendly'; and Belosa, perhaps derived from the bel tree.

A few titles appear to have been given in derision to boys or girls who have been caught misbehaving in the ghotul. Thus Hagru and Mutra or Mutri have reference to natural functions which may not be performed inside the building; Padru is given to a flatulent boy and Bandri to a smelly little girl.

Some other titles seem to be chosen for their sound rather than their meaning: Jelkar, which comes from a Gondi word meaning a 'ripple on water', is probably chosen for its likeness to Jailer and Budhker; Jalla or Jallam is a Hindi word meaning a 'spider's web'—perhaps Jallam was taken as a pun on Salam, another ghotul title. And I think some of the titles like Tiliyaro (which has a reference to tilli pulse), Siliyaro (the Gondi for a vegetable) and Jaliyaro are primarily chosen just because they sound attractive. So too, among chelik's titles, Paseldar (owner of mung pulse) is nothing more than a parody of Tahsildar or Issaldar.

II

There does not seem to be any fixed age at which children can claim admission to the dormitory; it depends mainly on their relations with their parents. When they reach the stage of going about with other children, forming gangs and playing with them instead of staying at home, there is a natural desire to go to the ghotul. The first entry is very informal, especially for boys, who simply slip in almost unnoticed with the rest. A girl does not go until 'she covers her shoulders'. This does not suggest that she is mature, but there comes a stage when she wants to wear a little more clothing than is usual in infancy, and this marks her entry into her ghotul phase. A girl usually asks her mother first, and often—we were told—the mother herself suggests it when the children are old enough for their presence to be an embarrassment in the home at night. Sometimes a girl is greatly attached to her mother—and the mother too may find her help necessary in looking after still younger children—and her coming to the ghotul is delayed. Then the older girls go and fetch her, saying to the mother, 'Your girl is now grown up; you must let her come, or you will be fined'.

In any case there is no taboo on even the youngest children going to the dormitory; a father may take his two-year-old son to sleep there when the mother is away at a wedding or in her catamenial period; smaller children often go to watch the games and dances. A boy's initiation is not like going to a new school; he knows all about it already.

But very little girls and boys are not allowed to sleep in the ghotul, 'for they sometimes wake up crying, and they wet their beds', so they are taken home after the games and dances are over. Before a child can sleep in the ghotul 'he must be able to look after himself'. At Deogaon, they said, 'We only let big girls sleep in the ghotul; what can the little ones do?' Konda, headman of Kanhargaon, recalled how his elder brother used to chase him out of the ghotul and beat him for coming before he was old enough.

When children first begin to attend the ghotul regularly, they are left alone for a week or so. Then the elder boys ask them if they are going to be regular in their attendance and why they did not come before. The children usually reply that their parents kept them away. Then the Sirdar says to a boy,

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even her kicks are sweet.' A study of ghotul offences and the type of punishment awarded, therefore, may be expected to throw some light on Muria notions of morality and the inner life of chelik and motiari.

Their offences, of course, cannot be understood properly except against the background of the general moral and social life of the tribe. To the Muria, as to most aboriginals, tribal solidarity is the supreme good, and anything that breaks this precious unity and fellowship must be condemned. Individualism is the great sin. For this reason, quarrelling and homicide are rare, theft is almost as uncommon. There are few who refuse to share the common work and interests of the community. Adultery is bad, not only because it infringes the rights of another Muria, but because it breaks up the carefully regulated domestic system of the people, and threatens to disrupt it by jealousy and hatred.

We have already seen the stress laid by the Muria on work. Slackness and laziness are very severely regarded, and are the commonest sources of friction between wife and husband. Cleanliness, decency, decorum and modesty are virtues much prized. A quiet and kindly attitude is expected of the tribal leaders; the bully and the coward are equally disliked.

Against this background, what sort of actions are condemned by ghotul opinion and punishable in ghotul law? Let us first consider those actions that are held to betray the common interest. They are doubly important, for in the highly specialized and concentrated fellowship of the ghotul, the general tribal instinct for unity becomes intensified.

II

Quarrels in the dormitory are strongly condemned. They are disturbing to the peace of ghotul life and specially offensive to so gentle and uncontentious a people. Children are fined for this, and may even be expelled. In Khutgaon there was once a very quarrelsome chelik. After a time, the leaders of the ghotul called him and said, 'Do you want to be in the ghotul or outside it?' The dreaded threat of expulsion brought him to his senses and he gave no more trouble.

The betrayal of the ghotul fellowship by repeating outside anything that happens within its walls, especially any stories of the intimate relations of chelik and motiari or some scandal about a pregnancy, is one of the greatest of ghotul crimes, for 'that which comes from the mouth bears fruit throughout the world'. Once at Gorma, the Kotwar and Belosa revealed to the village that a girl was pregnant; they were expelled and told that they would never be readmitted. Only when they brought a lot of liquor and fell at the feet of each chelik in turn, promising never to offend again, were they allowed to return.

Ghotul solidarity is constantly emphasized by the use of the ghotul title, and proper names may never be used between members. If a young child forgets this and addresses, say, his elder brother by the name that is always used at home, the others explain the custom to him; but if he offends again, he is punished.

The dormitory has to be kept clean. Though spitting is permitted, anyone who urinates inside the building is punished. This prohibition extends, in some places, to the court outside. To break wind is not a very serious offence; the children laugh at the offenders and call them *padva* or *padri*. Only a light punishment is imposed. At Esalnar the culprit had to salute

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'Well', says his uncle. 'She *is* being kept for you.' 'No, I want a larger choice of girls. But I'll just carry her off for a few days.' And two samdhi joke with each other. 'I know you sleep every night with your sister', says one. 'Yes, and we all know whom *you* sleep with.' And so on interminably.

In the ghotul, children tease each other but they are not allowed to go too far. A chelik who repeats a joke until it becomes cruel is fined. At a motiari's first menstruation, everybody is pleased and amused. 'Today the embankment of the field is broken.' 'We'd better call a lot of coolies to mend the leaking tank.' When the girl returns to the ghotul after her period of seclusion, the boys say, 'So the coolies have stopped the hole in the field. Don't let anyone make a new hole tonight'.

In the Binjhli ghotul one day the Silo, an older girl, was forcibly 'married' to the smallest boy there—this is a ghotul in which formal 'marriages' are not allowed, so the game had the double value of incongruity both in age and custom. The children performed all the marriage ceremonies, pretended to drink a lot of liquor, imitated the antics of their drunken elders, and finally dragged the pair off to bed together. But the little boy ran away. Then they pretended that a child was born, and a bundle was handed round the ghotul, the boys giving it their 'breasts' to suck. At last the little 'father' had to take it, but he threw it away crying, 'It doesn't look like me; she's been going to other boys'.

When older men come to the ghotul, there is a lot of coarse jesting about their relations with their wives. I remember the headman of Kuntpadar who is almost completely bald had himself massaged by the Beloss and said, 'How is she going to pull her comb through my few hairs' and 'If my old woman were to see me now, I wonder what she'd say. It's a good rule that wives mustn't come to the ghotul'.

A boy or girl with any deformity is laughed at and is given a nickname which will remind him of it. Some of these names are themselves witty—Dhol, fat as a drum; Banga, who was a stupid baby; Pota with a big stomach; Salaidu who never does what he is told but always something else; Cholu who never stops talking, and Marin—who is like a Maria, 'never takes any notice of anyone and when you want to beat him gets out his bow and arrows'. A boy at Binjhli, of whom it is said that he cannot see a motiari without saying something to make her laugh, is called Jhola. In the same ghotul a big overgrown fellow was ragged mercilessly. He was *dokara* (old man) by day and *bokara* (goat) at night. 'All the land of the ghotul has been broken up by his great ploughshare.'

Shamrao Hivale heard a chelik and motiari talking to each other in the ghotul; each sentence sent them into fits of laughter. 'What have you got?' said the boy. 'No, tell me first what you've got.' 'Well, I've one root and two onions.' 'And I', said the girl, 'have two sweet mangoes and a basket for your root.' 'Yes, but what am I to do with the onions?' 'They can stay out in the compound.' 'But at least put the root in your basket.'

Straightforward sexual jokes, with no social reference, about copulation and the private parts are common enough. For the Baihar Karsana (Mad Game), at Kanhargaon, boys dress up as a lunatic with his wife and child. He has a huge penis, 'she' grotesque breasts. Every time he touches them, he gets bullt; he tries to pull out her pubic hairs, and gets bunt again. The wife gives birth to a child, a cloth doll, the husband suckles it—but I need not particularize the endless buffoonery. The copulation of animals may be imitated; this is done even in the public—and very sacred—Pus Kolang dances. Excretory jokes are rare, I think, though boys laugh at girls

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APPENDIX THREE

GHOTUL TITLES

The following is a list of titles collected from over a hundred ghotul in every part of the Muria country. I owe many of the derivations and meanings to Mr A. N. Mitchell.

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TITLES OF CHELIK

Achhoy	Hindi. *Achhā* means 'good'.
Adhikar, or Adhker	Hindi. *Adhikār* means 'authority'.
Akfisai	Probably a Mussalman name, Aqal Shah. The latter word always becomes Sai in Gondi and either in its original or corrupt form is common among the Gond.
Akram	A curiously mixed Hindu and Mussalman name.
Alorsing or Ahursi	Gondi. *Alor* is 'one who makes a disturbance'.
Apkari or Atkari	Urdu. An excise man.
Athpahariya	Hindi. 'One who is on duty for eight watches', day and night. Used in Bastar for the village drudge.
Baidar	Hindi. *Bahiddr*, a money-lender's accountant.
Baksi	Urdu. *Bakshi*. A common title in northern India among Mussalmans and Hindus. Also a Parsi surname, 'treasurer'.
Bandobast Saheb	Urdu. A Settlement Officer. Here probably given after a visit to the village of Mr S. M. Ishaque who is widely known in Bastar under this title.
Bandukdar	Urdu. One who carries a gun.
Barko	
Beldar	Urdu. A digger, one who wields a spade.
Belumdar	Gondi. One who owns a *belum* or garden.
Budhker	Hindi. A clever fellow, one who has *budh*, intelligence, used of village officials.
Captan	English. A title usually used of the State Superintendent of Police.
Chajen	Gondi. One who roams about.
Chalau, Chāluk, or Chalin	Gondi borrowing from Hindi *chalāna*, meaning organizer.
Chalki	Hindi. Assistant to a headman.
Chaprāsi	Hindi. A peon, one who wears a *chaprās* or badge.
Chelik-sai	Lord of the chelik.
Chelik-sunder	*Chelik* is Gondi, meaning a 'good-looking, unmarried youth'. *Sundar* is Hindi *sundar*, beautiful.
Chowkidar	Hindi, watchman.
Chutukdar	
Constiball	English. A constable.
Dafedar	Urdu. One in charge of a section.
Daidar	A corruption, through Halbi, of Hindi *dawan*, oppression. Means a 'bully'.
Dakdar	English. Doctor.
Dandasi	Rare.
Dāroga	Urdu. An inspector.
Dewān	Urdu. A Diwan, or Prime Minister.
Dubey	A Brahmin name, contraction of Dwivedi.
Dubur or Duborsing	Gondi. The word means 'love'.
Engineer	English.
Gaidar	Cowherd(?), from Hindi *gai*.
Gāita	Gondi. A priest.

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Gangedar	Perhaps from Ganga, the Ganges.
Gâred	English. A Forest Guard.
Garhi	From Hindi, *garh* fort, or headquarters (?). Perhaps *chhâtelain*.
Gotul-sai	Gondi and Urdu. 'Lord of the ghotul.'
Gurti	Gondi. Strong.
Hagru	A nickname having reference to defaecation, usually given by parents to deceive hostile demons as to a child's true value. Here it is rather a nickname than a title.
Hardi-garbo	Hindi and Halbi. Refers to turmeric powder.
Havaldar	Urdu. A sergeant.
Hikmi	A Halbi social title.
Ijardar or Ijeldar	Urdu. From *ijara*, a monopoly. Used in Bastar of excise contractors.
Issaldar	Probably from Urdu Risaldar, an officer of cavalry.
Jailer	English.
Jalansai	Gond name, probably corruption of Urdu Jalim Shah.
Jalia or Jallam	Hindi. Means a 'spider's web'.
Jamadar	Urdu. An infantry rank above Havildar.
Jangel Saheb	Forest Officer.
Jelkar	Gondi. A ripple on water.
Jelu or Jelnk	Gondi. An obstructive fellow.
Jhakajhol	
Jhalakwar	Hindi. One who glitters.
Jilen	Perhaps from Hindi, *jila*, thin or fine. Compare English 'skinny'.
Jilmil	Hindi. Mica.
Joler	Hindi. This and the following title suggest a cheat, but Joler is not quite so strong as this. Perhaps 'fibber' would put it better.
Jolma	Probably a variant of the above.
Julpi	Hindi. From *julufh*, a curl of the hair. Hence curly-haired.
Jhalakrai Jhalkrai	Hindi. From *jhalakna*, to glisten. Hence, one who glistens. Like Lingo, founder of the ghotul.
Jumukdar	Hindi. From *jhumka*, little bells on the ear or ankle, and thus one who carries such bells. These are often worn as ornaments, especially by the Jhória Muria.
Kajanti	Corruption of *khajânchi*, a treasurer.
Kalbot	
Kâlikdar	Hindi. From *kâlâ*, black.
Kalingsai	Corruption of Hindi *kalgi*, an aigrette on a turban, and *shah*.
Kamdadar or Kâmdar	Hindi. An agent.
Kandki	Hindi. Village officer in charge of a *khad*, a section.
Kanjus	Hindi. A miser.
Kapatdar	Hindi. From *kapatdâr*, a dressing-boy.
Karu	
Katlami	A Gondi clan-name.
Khuti Manjhi	
Kilârning	From Hindi *kilkâna*, to scream.
Kisimsai	Probably a corruption of the name Kasim Shah.
Kopki	
Kosa	Hindi. A silk cocoon.
Kotiya	Hindi. One in charge of the *kothi* or granary.
Kotwar	Hindi. A village watchman.
Kude	Gondi. From *kuddna*, to sit. Thus, one who is always sitting.

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Kutel	Hindi. From *kushal*, happiness. Thus, the happy boy.
Laburdar, Laburs, Labarchi or Labersing	Used in Gondi to mean a 'dandy', from Hindi *labariya*, striped cloth. The wearing of some unspeakable striped shirt is regarded as very fast and 'advanced' by the Muria.
Likin or Likhan	One who carves hair combs, from Hindi *likhna*, to write.
Mitth	Urdu. A master.
Manikdar	Hindi. One who owns a ruby: precious stones often are girl-symbols.
Mlenger	English.
Manjhi	Hindi. A boatman or skipper. Used in Bastar for the Headman of a Pargana.
Master	English.
Meliyā	From Gondi *melkna*, to wander.
Mitchell Sahib	Scotch.
Mirgar	From Gondi *mirkna*, to run.
Muharrir	Urdu. A clerk.
Mukhwan	From Hindi *mukh*, a face; one who produces people before a panchayat.
Mu'tadam	Urdu. A village headman.
Mollyaling	From Gondi *mal*, a peacock and the name Singh.
Munshi	Urdu. A reader.
Mutra	Hindi. One who urinates. Probably given to a boy who was caught urinating inside the ghotul, or to a bed-wetter.
Nāchan	Hindi. From *nāchna*, to dance. A dancer.
Nāikdar	A subordinate in charge of an outpost, *nāka*.
Narbar	A Hindu name.
Nāzir	Urdu. A tahsil official.
Nelliya	Gondi. *Nela* means good, hence 'a good fellow'.
Nengi	A Halbi social title.
Nispettar	English. Inspector.
Oāsi	English. Overseer.
Oppal	Probably from Hindi, *uppam*, best.
Pādra	From Hindi *pādna*, to pass wind. Probably given to a boy who had the habit of doing this inside the ghotul.
Pahardar	Hindi. From *pahar*, a watch. Hence a watchman.
Pāgan	Hindi. From *pāgā*, a turban. Hence one who has a turban.
Pagan-meliyā	See above. *Meliyā* is a Gondi word meaning a wanderer.
Paik	Hindi. Paik is a foot soldier. The word is used in Bastar of all subordinate officials.
Pando-Pardhan	The Pardhan are the priests and musicians of the Gond. Pando-Pardhan appears as a court official in some of the Ghotul Pata.
Pandāar	Gondi. *Pandi* is the mung pulse. Hence the title means 'one who owns mung'. Probably given because of the assonance with Tahsildar or Jamadar.
Patwāri	Hindi. A village land record official, originally an accountant.
Phaniya	Gondi. The buffalo.
Pohnp Singh	Probably from the Hindi root *phopā*, which in various forms means 'hump', hence anything spongy, hence 'fatty'. The late Willy Forbes, Secretary of the Nagpur Club, was very fat. He was known to the servants as 'Phophas Sahib' (A.N.M.).
Raja Sahab	Hindi. A king.

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Rânger	Forest official.
Rengo	Hindi. *Rengna* means 'to stroll'.
Rupedar	One who owns rupees or silver.
Saidar	A Hindi social title.
Salâm	An Urdu greeting.
Saledar or Silledar	Urdu *Ziledar*, one in charge of a district. The Silledar was the armour-bearer of the old Maratha chivalry, and the breeder of mares for the army.
Salho	From Hindi *chalna*, to go. One who goes.
Sâligrâm or Sâligrâi	A Hindi name, Shaligram, described as meaning a stone linga of the Hindu god Mahadeo.
Salya or Selya	A local, but not Gondi, word *sal*, meaning (?) pangolin.
Sanker	Eastern Hindi, meaning morning.
Sikandâr	A Mussalman name.
Sileh	Gondi *sile*, clothing (Hindi *sina*, to sew).
Singga	From Hindi *sing*, a horn.
Sipâhi	Urdu, a soldier.
Sirdâr	Urdu, a chief.
Sirajdâr or Sirasdar	Urdu, Sarishtedar, a judicial moharrir.
Sirkil	English, Circle Inspector of Police, probably named after the popular Thakur Manbahal Singh, who for long held this position.
Subedâr	Urdu, a military officer.
Sudher	Halbi, *sudh*, cleverness, hence a clever fellow.
Suen or Suwel	Gondi corruption of Hindi *kuâ*, a well.
Sulhi	Probably corruption of Hindi *chula*, an oven. Hence 'cook'.
Suluksai	A Gondi name. Sai is the same as Shah.
Sunder	Hindi *Sundar*, beautiful.
Surjut	Hindi *suraj ki jyoti*, the brightness of the sky.
Tabu	
Tahsildar	Urdu. Revenue official.
Tekedar	Hindi. A Tekedar is one who farms the revenues of a village on payment of a quit-rent.
Tel-dundi	Hindi. An oil-press.
Tindka	From Gondi *tindâna*, to eat, perhaps 'hungry or greedy one'.
Uden	From Gondi, *udâna*, to sit. Hence one who sits down. Compare Kude.
Ukwar	Gondi. A mattock.
Vakil	Urdu. A pleader.

Titles of Motiaki

Achhoke	Gondi adjective, good.
Aloka	Gondi adjective, pleasant-spoken.
Anbalko	Perhaps from Marathi *ana*, bring, and *ank*, root of Gondi *nekndâd*, to say, and female termination *ko*. Hence 'she who tells one to bring things'.
Beldarin	Feminine of Beldar, q.v.
Beloka	Perhaps derived from the bel tree.
Chalko	Gondi. One who talks nonsense.
Dasoda	Hindi name.
Dulcka	Corruption of Hindi *dulecha*, soft.
Galje	Gondi. The noisy one.
Gandri	Hindi and Halbi. One who smells bad. Probably a derisive nickname rather than a proper title.
Haliyâro	Hindi *haliya*, a herd or flock, hence cowherd or shepherdess.

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Jaimo	
Jalaro, Jalâri or Jaliyâro	From Hindi *jalna*, to burn, perhaps 'hot stuff'.
Jalko	Gondi. A ripple. Compare Jelkar.
Jamadarin	Feminine of Jamadar, q.v.
Janakrâi, Janko, Jamko or Jankâi	Hindi names.
Jhelo	Gondi. A splash of water.
Jhilli	Hindi. Mica. Compare Jilmil.
Junki	Gondi. Tinkling.
Kotwarin	Feminine of Kotwar, q.v.
Lahari or Laharo	From Hindi, *lahar*, a wave.
Malko or Malkârose	Gondi. *Mal*, a peacock, a girl like a peahen.
Manjâro	From Hindi root *manj*, middle. Perhaps the second of three sisters, or one who holds a secondary place after the ghotul leaders.
Mankai	Hindi *mânna*, to obey, hence the obedient one.
Metin	English mate in a gang, with a Gondi feminine termination.
Mulâri or Mulâro	Probably from Hindi *mulya*, 'value, hence 'precious'.
Mulki	From Urdu *mulk*, country. Thus 'country lass'.
Mutri	Feminine of Mutra, q.v. But not necessarily, in this case, his ghotul mate.
Nirosa	A Sanskritic word meaning 'clean'. There does not seem to be such a word in Hindi, but the meaning is definite. The word exists in Halbi, and it may be connected with *nirog*.
Pisa	From Hindi *pina*, to drink. Perhaps one who drinks a lot of palm-wine or 'the thirsty one'.
Rani	Hindi. A queen.
Saidarin	Feminine of Saidar, q.v.
Saile	Gondi. Friendly.
Salko	Feminine of Salya, q.v.
Samakro	The patient one. *Samatar* is Halbi for patient.
Sargi	Hindi for the sal tree.
Siliyâro	Gondi *siliya*, a vegetable.
Silo	Hindi cloth or clothing (*sina*).
Singâro	Hindi *shringâr*, adorned.
Sulâko	From Hindi *chula*, an oven. Hence perhaps 'cook'.
Surtin	Hindi *surta*, thought. Hence 'thoughtful'.
Surti, Surto or Surtel	Hindi, tobacco. One who distributes tobacco to the chelik.
Tiliyâro	From a pulse. Probably given for its assonance with Jaliyaro or Siliyaro.
Tilola	From the Hindi name, *tilak*.
Talki	
Tusro or Tusâro	
Ujlaro or Ujlâro	Gondi. White.

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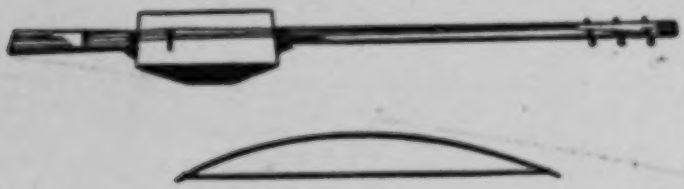
3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison Horn Maria

534 bamboo and the usual flute. They are fond of gongs, but these are not now so common as they were. At the great Pen Karsita at Ghotpal in 1942, the dancers used slabs of



Kikir Fiddle
(*Length* 2')

coloured wood, bits of old tin and indeed anything that would make a noise instead of the traditional gongs. Like the Muria, at festivals and even for amusement the Maria use a hunting horn, either a real horn or one made of brass.

541 Besides dancing, the chief Maria relaxation is the cock-fight. At the conclusion of all the bigger bazaars, the men retire to a grove of trees and set their cocks against each other. The cocks are armed with sharp and deadly little knives tied to their feet and fights are to the death. The victor has the privilege of taking the defeated bird, but the real excitement comes from the betting.

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844 [843] The ceremonies attending birth and marriage are very simple. The pregnant mother is not hampered by many restrictions on her movements. After the birth of the child the placenta is buried in a pit behind the house. Logs are placed above it and the arrow with which the cord was cut is driven into the ground near by. A small shed is made and the 846 mother lives here for some weeks with her child, taking a daily bath above the placenta-pit. At the end of this period of segregation, the husband gives a feast to the neighbours, [851] the child is named and the mother is permitted to return to her household duties. It was to such a feast that the unhappy victim of the Mardum sacrifice was enticed.[1]

881 There are no ceremonies of initiation at puberty, though a

[1] Case No 31.